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**THE CHINESE AND GREEN GOLD:  
LUMBERING IN THE SIERRAS**

By

Sue Fawn Chung  
University of Nevada, Las Vegas  
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## **Introduction**

This is a preliminary study of the Chinese who were involved in the lumbering industry in the Sierra Nevada region in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Little is known about these men because they left no records, but through historical and archaeological research, some details have emerged.

The Chinese played an important role in the lumbering boom of the 1860s-1890s in this region and in the 1880s provided approximately 70-80% of the labor force.<sup>1</sup> They probably began working in lumbering, often called “green gold,” as a means to supply lumber the Nevada mines, especially the Comstock (Virginia City and Gold Hill) with fuel and building needs and for the construction and fueling of the Central Pacific Railroad and other railroad lines.

They worked in a large area that included the Tahoe basin and Sierras performing a variety of different tasks. Like the miners, they encountered racial discrimination, but persisted in the somewhat lucrative occupation until a combination of events forced them to move elsewhere or change their jobs. These events reached a climax in the 1886 anti-Chinese movement targeting Chinese in lumbering contributed to a departure of the Chinese.

Although several studies have singled this out as the reason for the Chinese to quit this occupation, there were other factors that must be considered. This is the story of several thousand Chinese workers in the Verdi, Nevada, and Truckee, California area between 1860 and 1890 whose history has not been told and has relevance to Chinese in lumbering along the Pacific Coast through the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Sources of information have been difficult to locate. Archaeological reports, particularly those by Constance D. Knowles, Victor O. Goodwin, Donald Hardesty, Susan Lindstrom, and Kelly J. Dixon, have contributed to an understanding of what occurred in these lumber sites.<sup>2</sup> Newspaper articles often were distorted or too brief, but give some insight. Studies on lumber history and Truckee, most notably Dick Wilson, Sawdust Trails in the Truckee Basin: A History of Lumbering Operations, 1856-1936, Marilou West Ficklin, Showdown at Truckee, Joanne Meschery, Truckee, M. Nona McGlashan, Give Me a Mountain Meadow: The Life of Charles Fayette McGlashan (1847-1931), Paul A. Lord, ed., Fire and Ice: A Portrait of Truckee, and W. F. Edwards, Tourist Guide and Directory of the Truckee Basin, two master's theses, Leslie Kibler Hill, “The Historical Archaeology of Ethnic Woodcutters in the Carson Range” and Michael

Andrew Goldstein, "Truckee's Chinese Community: From Coexistence to Disintegration, 1870-1890,"<sup>3</sup> oral histories, census data that often undercounts the Chinese, court records, local, state, and federal government documents, and forestry studies augmented the research.

Wood was used for a great variety of material goods in frontier America. The most obvious were the construction of residences, hotels, businesses, buildings, sidewalks, porches, window and door frames, furniture, and wagons; the operation of mining smelters and mills. In addition, wood was used for making charcoal, paper, and wooden crates for shipping; fuel for steam machinery and steam engines; building train trestles, bridges, snow sheds, roundhouses, railroad cars, and railroad ties; and, most important of all, for cooking and heating, especially in the winter.<sup>4</sup> The West was being settled and demands for wood products were great.

There were two periods of boom in the lumbering industry. The first occurred after the discovery of gold and silver for mines in and around the Comstock from 1859 until the bust in 1877. The second began with the construction of the railroads, especially the transcontinental railroad and the narrow gauge railroads from 1864 until the 1900s.

Railroad and mining companies were among the biggest customers of wood products. The history of lumbering in this area is directly tied to these two other industries. By the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the combination of the improved technological developments in the lumbering industry, the decline in the need for lumber for the mines and railroads, and deforestation due to clear cutting caused a "bust" in lumbering.

For the Chinese, the 1875 Page Law essentially meant that they could not bring their wives to the United States, thus creating a bachelor-like society.<sup>5</sup> The effectiveness of the 1882 and subsequent Chinese exclusion acts severely limited their ability to visit their homeland because they were in the excluded class of laborers. The growing anti-Chinese sentiment, especially by the labor unions and economically threatened Euro-Americans, contributed to the fact that the Chinese no longer played a critical role in the industry.

A few Chinese lumbermen remained, but most left the area. Like many other occupations in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, work in lumbering required movement from one location to another. Some Chinese continued to work in the industry in Oregon, Washington, Idaho, British Columbia, and elsewhere, but most probably went into service occupations, such as laundry work and restaurants.

The Chinese performed a variety of jobs, particularly road clearing, cordwood chopping, wood piling, wood loading/unloading, horse or oxen driving, and charcoal making. Often they filled the boring but dangerous positions of chute flagmen, and flume herders.<sup>6</sup> They did much of the work for the construction and maintenance of lumber railways throughout the West.<sup>7</sup>

Although there is no record indicating that they held the prestigious job of sawyer, there had been Chinese sawyers along the Pacific Coast and in Idaho during this and later periods. Their primary occupations in the lumbering industry were the cutting or chopping of cordwood for fuel, wood loading/unloading, and flume herding. Once the tree was cut, sometimes leaving a stump about 4-6 feet

high, the remainder was cut up into cordwood and used for fuel in the mines, on the trains, and in the homes/businesses. Chinese workers also gathered sagebrush for sale as fuel because of the shortage that resulted from denuding the forests.



*Ah Can - Idaho wood Sawyer in winter 1920*

### **Chinese Immigration**

At first the number of Chinese immigrants to the American west was small. The records of the U.S. Immigration Commission listed eleven Chinese arriving between 1820 and 1840. In Monterey Bay, the first documented Chinese resident, Annam (d. 1817), who came from Macao, was a cook for the governor of Alta California.<sup>8</sup>

After the ratification of the first Sino-American treaty of 1844, Chinese students began arriving in the United States and these cultural exchanges continued into the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Then in 1848, three Chinese, two men and one woman arrived in San Francisco. The men went to work at John Sutter's sawmill, just north of San Francisco, where gold was discovered.

The importation of Chinese workmen may have begun when Jacob Primer Leese (1809-1892), working for John Heard (1825-1894) and family, decided to send prefabricated wooden houses on their ship *Frolic* from Hong Kong to the new boom town of San Francisco in 1849.<sup>9</sup>

To assist in the construction of the houses, now in great demand because San Francisco had passed a city ordinance banning cloth (tent) structures and requiring wooden structures, Leese also sent fifteen Chinese carpenters on the *Mary* at the cost to him of \$125 per person. This was much higher than the usual \$50 steamship ticket from Hong Kong to San Francisco. Undoubtedly the Chinese remained in San Francisco because there was a great economic advantage and need for their skill.

San Francisco's 1870 census listed no carpenters (they might have been considered laborers), but in 1880 there were 51, or 1.4% of San Francisco's 3,865 Chinese.<sup>10</sup> According to the Wells Fargo Company's "Directory of Chinese Business Houses" in 1882, San Francisco's Chinatown had 2 carpenters and 7 wood yards.<sup>11</sup> Undoubtedly there was an undercounting or the census included all those who worked in lumbering as carpenters. San Jose's Chinatown had 2 wood yards and Los Angeles' Chinatown had 1. One can conclude that there was a definite interest in lumber, especially by the 1880s.

In 1870s large migrations of Chinese traveled to the American west in search for new economic opportunities. Between 1860 (34,933) and 1890 (107,488) the number of Chinese increased, as seen in the following table:

**POPULATION OF CHINESE IN U.S. AND NEVADA, 1860-1900\***

Year	Total Population in Nevada	Total Chinese Population In U.S.	Chinese Population in Nevada	Percent of Chinese in Nevada	Chinese Males in Nevada	Chinese Females in Nevada	Ratio of Males to Females
1860	6,057	34,933	23	.03	--	--	
1870	42,491	63,199	3,162	7.4	2,817	306	1:9
1880	62,266	105,465	5,416	8.7	5,102	314	1:16
1890	47,355	107,488	2,833	6.0	2,749	84	1:33
1900	42,335	89,863	1,352	3.2	1,283	69	1:19
Foreign Citizen		80,853 9,010					

\*Based upon the United States Bureau of the Census, Census of the Population [ title varies] (Washington, D.C: Government Printing Office, 1860-1901).

There were forces driving the Chinese from their native place and others pulling them toward the American west. South China in the 1840s through 1860s experienced flooding, famine, high taxation, government oppression, and economic dislocation as new treaty ports opened away from Canton. The desperate peasants joined anti-government secret societies and some rebelled with the Taiping in a disruptive attempt to overthrow the ruling foreign Manchus (Qing Dynasty, 1644-1911) between 1850 and 1864.

The Manchus ordered immediate execution of rebel leaders, but some were able to flee overseas. A few, such as Taiping rebel leader General Wong Fat Die of Carson City, settled and died in Nevada.<sup>12</sup> The political, social, and economic conditions spurred thousands to seek new opportunities abroad. California and the American west were attractive because of the discovery of gold and the promise of instant wealth.

#### **Early Development: Small Independent Owners**

The discovery of gold in 1848 at Sutter's Sawmill (also called Fort), California, brought a new demand for wood products as the population boomed.

Residential and industrial needs contributed to the fluctuating price of timber. A small sawmill in Bodega Bay, California was built in 183, but it could not meet the needs of the growing western mining communities after 1848.

The ability to transport the lumber played a major role in which forests could be harvested.<sup>13</sup> Lumber, imported from the northeast, was very expensive. By the early 1850s production developed in the Sierras and the Tahoe basin eventually for San Francisco, Sacramento and the Mother Lode in California and the Comstock (Virginia City and Gold Hill, Storey County) in Nevada. Utah, Arizona, and coastal California were added to the list of areas with lumber demands. Shipments to China and foreign countries also began by the 1870s.

The transportation routes to and from California and the gold fields beginning with the Overland Emigrant Trail through the Sierras in 1844, then the Truckee Route of the Emigrant Trail in the early 1850s, to the Carson Route brought newcomers through the rich forest land.<sup>14</sup> From Truckee to the east Carson River, there were 60 miles of prime forest areas, but the most valuable of trees, the Douglas fir, could be found only in abundance in the Tahoe basin. The Chinese usually traveled eastward from San Francisco to Sacramento to the gold country of Marysville, Grass Valley, Nevada City, Downieville, Auburn, Colfax, and Dutch Flat.<sup>15</sup> Some then went to Truckee, California and western Nevada.

The Mormons who settled Genoa (Mormon Fort, originally called Mormon Station) began lumbering in the early 1850s to satisfy the needs of the Mormon settlers. Since they had hired Chinese laborers to construct the irrigation canals in the Carson Valley, it is probable that they also used the Chinese workers for clearing roads, cutting cordwood and other related tasks.

John Reese, who headed the first group of settlers in 1851, established his sawmill in the Carson valley and was responsible for hiring the Chinese workers to dig irrigation ditches.<sup>16</sup> By 1859, 200 or so Chinese eventually settled in "Chinatown," later renamed Dayton, Lyon County, Nevada, primarily to do mining. In the 1850s, Carson Valley, Truckee Meadows, and Eagle Valley were all part of Carson County, Utah.

In 1855 near present-day Franktown, Washoe County, a second sawmill was built to meet the needs of the ranchers and farmers. Other small sawmills followed. The demand for lumber increased with the 1859 discovery of the Comstock Lode centered in Virginia City and Gold Hill, Storey County, Nevada, that boomed in 1873 with the Big Bonanza.

### **The Comstock, Railroads, and Lumber**

The Comstock Lode needed huge quantities of wood for the support of the silver mines in the square-set timbering, a mining technique used to shore up the ceilings of underground excavations, and fuel for steam pumps and stamp mills. Cordwood was needed in the homes for cooking and heating. Chinese wood dealers fulfilled most of the requirements. The *Mining and Scientific Press* (November 19, 1864) observed that on a daily basis, "the Chinese drivers goaded troops of donkeys over the steep slopes of the nearby Palmyra district and through El Dorado Canyon; at nightfall the little beasts were driven back to Virginia City...with a burden of sticks weighing from 100 to 200 pounds..."<sup>17</sup> The

image between the different looking (from Euro-American) Chinese and cordwood sales was established.

The price of the wood varied. During the summer months of 1863, the price of cedar varied from \$13 to \$18 per cord, while pinyon was \$16 to \$18 per cord, while in the winter the price rose to \$20 to \$30 per cord on the Comstock.<sup>18</sup> During the severe winter of 1867, Chinese wood peddlers, who dug out roots from under 6 feet of snow, sold the wood for \$1.75 to \$2.50 per donkey-load, or \$60 per cord.<sup>19</sup>

The supply for the Comstock came from the Sierra Nevada Mountains, the Tahoe basin, Truckee Meadows, Truckee River Canyon, the head waters of the East Carson River, and as far north as Bodie, California, and as far south as Aurora, Nevada. Carson City, the capital of Nevada, also became a major transportation hub for goods and lumber. Johnson's Cut-Off, later known as Kings Canyon Road, tied the region to the Carson Valley, Tahoe's south shore, Placerville, and Spooner Summit.

Chinese workers who had been connected with railroad construction and maintenance helped to solve the need for wood. The Chinese worked on small railroad lines in the 1850s to early 1860s. John C. Fremont was one of the first to hire Chinese and had them build a 4-mile track in the 1850s in California.<sup>20</sup>

From 1861-1864, the San Jose to San Francisco Railroad, used to transport agricultural products, hired Euro-American and Chinese laborers and paid them the same wage.<sup>21</sup> By the time it was completed, the Central Pacific Railroad (CPR) was looking for workers.

At first, the CPR hired approximately 50 Chinese men, but the work force grew rapidly. By 1864 or 1865, the Chinese comprised 4,000 of the 5,000 workers on the CPR.<sup>22</sup> A year or two later there were 10,000 to 12,000 (about 90% of the workforce) Chinese working for the CPR.<sup>23</sup> Discouraged Chinese miners from Dutch Flat and other gold country towns were among the early CPR workers, making up about 50% of the new employees. A variety of American (most notably Sisson, Wallace, and Company) and Chinese companies recruited the other 50% from Guangdong, China.

According to a local Nevada newspaper, in 1866 the Zhonghua huiguan (Chinese Benevolent Association or Chinese Six Companies) reported that of the 58,000 Chinese registered with them, 25% worked for the CPR.<sup>24</sup> Word about the new economic opportunities spread. In 1867, only 4,283 Chinese left Hong Kong, but by 1875, over ten times that number had left the main port of departure for the Chinese.<sup>25</sup> In 1882, 39,463 Chinese men, 99% of the Chinese admitted, entered the United States.<sup>26</sup> Some of these men provided the labor force for lumbering companies.

The completion of the CPR in 1868-1869 and the Virginia and Truckee Railroad (VTR) in November 1869 (Virginia City to Carson City) to August 1872 (Carson City to Reno) transformed the Sierra-Tahoe lumber industry. The trains made the transportation of wood products much easier. The CPR also used Chinese labor to clear the land, level the roads, blast tunnels, build bridges and snowsheds, and cut timber for railroad ties.

Unlike the Union Pacific Railroad (UPR) heading westward, the CPR did not have difficulty getting materials because of the rich timberland in the Sierras. At least two lumbering companies connected with the CPR used Chinese labor. Sisson, Wallace and Company, a firm that also recruited Chinese workers from Guangdong for the CPR and had as one of its major partners a brother of the famous Charles Crocker (one of the “Big Four”), played a prominent role in the development of communities along the transcontinental railroad route.

Parker and Tobey, a firm that eventually worked closely with the lumber-railroad magnet Duane Bliss, also supplied “China labor” as subcontractors who paid their workers through Chinese agents (the only names on the payroll).<sup>27</sup> These CPR-contracted firms could cut the trees on federal land due to the railroad construction contract and on land given to the company by the federal government. They built their own sawmills.

When the CPR entered Nevada in 1868, the work force was trimmed to 5,000 since the most difficult work, crossing the Sierra Nevada, had been completed. That year Chinese workers were brought to Portland to help in railroad construction.<sup>28</sup> Others remained in the area to cut wood or return to mining or other occupations. As with the CPR, the Chinese workers in lumbering were hired through an employment agency such as a district association or labor contractor or mercantile company, assigned a “headman” (boss), and then contracted to work for a Euro-American lumberman.

In May 1869, the first transcontinental railroad line was completed as the Union Pacific met the CPR at Promontory Point, Utah.<sup>29</sup> Euro-American laborers erroneously believed that the completion of the line meant that the now unemployed, lower paid Chinese laborers threatened their jobs. Several hundred of the Chinese continued to work for the CPR doing maintenance, road work, and other tasks, including working in restaurants so that passengers and crewmen could eat. The Union Pacific hired some as section crews and, in 1875, as coal miners in southern Wyoming.

By 1880, about 200 Chinese worked at the UP mines at Almy and another 600 or 700 worked in the coal mines in Rock Springs, Wyoming, 100 miles to the east.<sup>30</sup> About 600 workers, now experienced in railroad construction, moved to build portions of the Alabama and Chattanooga Railroad and another 250 worked for General John G. Walter for the Houston and Texas Railroad. Others went to the Pacific Northwest, where they constituted two-thirds of the railroad workers in Washington between 1870 and 1900.<sup>31</sup>

The northern transcontinental lines reached major lumber-producing areas and consumed tremendous amount of forest products until they were completed in 1883. Although the lumber could easily be transported eastward, the discriminatory railroad freight rates initially prohibited attempts in that direction.<sup>32</sup> Once the rates were favorable, lumber moved eastward as well as westward into California and beyond.

When the CPR established stations at Truckee, California, and Verdi, Nevada, lumber production grew in the surrounding area for the wood for the silver mines in Nevada, Arizona, and Utah and their communities. Market outlets grew.<sup>33</sup> The railroads helped to import machinery that made logging easier,



lowered the cost of the transportation of logs to the mills and from the mills to the other states, and brought new settlers to the region.

Lumbermen continually demanded favorable freight rates, adequate availability of cars to transport the lumber, and permission to load them heavily without extra charge.<sup>34</sup> According to Constance Knowles, the Truckee Basin was one of the last regions in California to have the forest resources developed.<sup>35</sup> Cutting began in 1856, and with this resource, dependence upon supplemental supplies of timber from the east coast ended and the west coast began to supply lumber to the east coast.

The small scale of lumbering prior to 1867 ended. Technological developments, such as the V-flume, steam donkey, and the construction of logging railroads that opened up remote forests contributed to the increase of the production of lumber production as large conglomerates bought up independents.<sup>36</sup>

The Comstock's use was huge. According to lumber magnet Duane L. Bliss, in one year, from August 1, 1875 to August 1, 1876, 72,000,000 feet of lumber and 320,000 cords of wood went to the Comstock. The Bonanza Mines and Consolidated Virginia alone took 2,500,000 feet of lumber per month and 10,000 to 13,000 cords of wood.<sup>37</sup> Between 1860 and 1881, the Comstock used approximately 2.6 billion board feet of lumber. The VTR sent 44-to-46 trains per day to the Comstock during the height of the mining boom and each trip used many cords of wood.<sup>38</sup>

The early sawmills were sole proprietorships and the owners often also were the managers in the Tahoe basin and Verdi/Truckee region. However, these early lumbermen often did not know how to market their products and eventually sold out to larger companies.

By the 1880s, three lumbering companies dominated the Sierra Nevada and Tahoe forest lands: Sierra Nevada Wood and Lumber Company (SNWLC) owned by Walter S. Hobart and S. H. Marlette; Pacific Wood, Lumber, and Fluming Company (PWLFC), owned by two of the Comstock Bonanza Kings, John Mackay and James Fair, and the Carson and Tahoe Lumber and Fluming Company (CTLFC) of Duane L. Bliss and Henry Yerington, also connected with the Comstock.

In 1877, when the forest supplies of the region were depleted, Bliss and Yerington turned to Bodie, California, for more lumber and used Chinese workers to build the narrow gauge and work in the wood camps.<sup>39</sup> Expansion of their business was not limited to finding untapped sources of lumber.

The CTLFC also grew by taking over smaller, independent lumbering operations. One example of this transition was George W. Chubbuck, a sole proprietor and manager of timberland in the Tahoe Valley just east of present-day Camp Richardson on the South Shore of Lake Tahoe. His brother, S. W. Chubbuck, the state senator from Storey County in 1875, probably provided an early link between politics and lumber interests in the Nevada Legislature. Chubbuck employed Chinese workers on his logging ranch.

In 1886, Chubbuck built a narrow gauge railroad from Bijou called the Lake Valley Railroad. He probably used Chinese workers since many Chinese

workers were used to construct the narrow gauge railroads throughout the West.<sup>40</sup> Eventually, CTLFC bought the ranch and the Lake Valley Railroad was taken over and expanded by the CTLFC to Meyers. The pier at Bijou allowed the logs to be dumped into the lake so that they could be transported across the lake and then taken to Carson City and Virginia City. This kind of complex transportation system was not needed for lumber from the Verdi/Truckee area.

### **Lumber Production Overview**

At first the state of Nevada had all of the timber lands in the state listed, then the state secured a patent for the whole from the United States and whoever wanted to take up any of the land purchased it from the state.<sup>41</sup> The average price of the land varied from \$1.25 to \$10 per acre, with a tax of 25 cents per acre for land denuded of trees. The exception was the railroad-owned land.

According to the Controller of Nevada in 1879, the CPR owned 11,000,000 acres of land, 5,000,000 of which was in Nevada at a value of \$30,000,000 or \$2.50 per acre.<sup>42</sup> Profits were immense and the era of industrial logging began. In 1872 when Duane L. Bliss and Henry Yerington bought land in the Tahoe basin from Michele E. Spooner, the price was \$300 per acre but it was about \$6 per acre from the Elliott brothers, who owned Summit Mill.<sup>43</sup> Walter S. Hobart and S. H. Marlette only paid \$1 per acre for 80 acres near the Little Truckee River.<sup>44</sup> Smaller, independent lumbermen eventually sold out to larger concerns that could harvest and market the wood in the 1870s and 1880s.

Because the Nevada constitution allowed resident aliens to buy, own, and sell land, the Chinese, who by tradition valued land ownership, even ventured into timberland ownership in the 1880s. Fook Ling of Douglas County sued Nevada Surveyor General C. S. Preble for the ability to purchase non-mineral land, known as the "Two Million Acre Grant" in Douglas County.

In a landmark Supreme Court decision in 1883 (*State ex rel. Fook Ling v. C. S. Preble*, Sup. Ct. 0123, Case 1169, dated February 6, 1883), he was able to purchase the land.<sup>45</sup> Fook Ling had lived in Douglas County prior to 1880 and was willing to pay the \$1.25 per acre for the land, but Preble refused to allow him to do so. The court ruled that the Burlingame Treaty between China and the United States stated that "Chinese laborers who are now in the United States shall be accorded all the rights and privileges...accorded to its citizens and subjects of the most favored nation."

Fook Ling was deemed eligible to purchase public land. Since the largest, and only known, Chinese-owned lumbering operation was in Slaughterhouse Canyon in the Tahoe basin, this undoubtedly was the timberland in question.

Throughout Nevada, sawmills were built near mining towns. Empire City in Ormsby County began as a logging town in 1855 and cut mining timber until 1910.<sup>46</sup> In 1895, the last cord wood drive down the Carson River came from Empire.<sup>47</sup>

By 1866, there were 15 sawmills north of Carson City.<sup>48</sup> Sawmills were expensive to construct and most moved from one place to another in order to be close to the source of timber. Nearby were three mills on Mill Creek that cost

\$60,000 to construct. Gregory's Mill, the largest of the three, began in 1859 and cut 15,000 feet of lumber per day with a working force of 100 at its peak.

Other sawmills sprang up in neighboring areas. For example, in 1865 in Nye County, there were two sawmills, one near Lone and the other at the head of the Reese River.<sup>49</sup> In the same period in Washoe County, there were 12-18 sawmills with 30 million feet cut annually primarily for the use of the Comstock and sales reaching \$75,000 per month.

Approximately 200 men worked in lumbering in Washoe County, and over 500 animals, primarily oxen, transported the logs. By 1866, Ormsby County reported harvesting 20,000 cords of wood per year and manufacturing 7 million feet of lumber using the sawmills at Empire City.<sup>50</sup> There were four other sawmills with smaller operations in Ormsby County.

Nye County had increased their sawmills to six and produced 3,000 feet per day worth \$50-80 per 1,000 feet.<sup>51</sup> Storey County's Gould and Curry Mill reported producing 11,442 of cord wood at the cost of \$168,830 with the average price of \$14.72 and 172,857 feet of lumber at a cost of \$3,725 with the average price per thousand at \$42.40.<sup>52</sup> Wood was selling at \$14-16 per cord, according to the quality. The operations at Crystal Peak, Verdi, Truckee, and vicinity were a part of this larger picture.



**Truckee Sawmill, 1850s-1860s**

### **Crystal Peak, Verdi, Truckee, and Vicinity**

Crystal Peak, located at the foot of the Sierras near the state line with all of the property in California, but listed as part of Washoe County, Nevada, began as a trading post in 1854. As early as 1852, Sierra Valley had several portable sawmills to supply the local ranchers with lumber.<sup>53</sup> In the early 1860s, Crystal Peak boomed as a mining town (coal, copper, silver).

As the mineral deposits diminished, Crystal Peak produced lumber between 1864 and the 1920s. In 1864, the Crystal Peak Company, involved in

timber and mining interests in Sunrise Basin and on the Verdi Peak, laid out the town of Crystal Peak.<sup>54</sup> In 1866, the tax list published in the Eastern Slope (Washoe City) demonstrated the influence of the lumbering industry that paid a major portion of the taxes for the county.

Crystal Peak had one hotel owned by James Carson, two stores, and a post office, but when the CPR made Verdi its station a half-mile away, these structures were moved to Verdi.<sup>55</sup> However, the two saloons and brewery of James Carson and two others, the J. B. Gillhem blacksmith shop, the W. E. Squires shoe making shop, remained in Crystal Peak. Saloons were essential in logging towns, since most of the men were males either single or living away from their families. The blacksmith shop was especially important in fabricating new parts or fixing broken ones for the sawmills.<sup>56</sup> The shoemaker made and repaired boots that were required to work in the forests.

The construction of the CPR spurred further growth. By July of that year there were 4 sawmills and by May of the next year, six sawmills “capable of providing each 1,000 feet of dressed lumber per hour.”<sup>57</sup> The four mills of Daniel Proctor and the Excelsior Mill of Goshan and Sproul provided the lumber for the construction of the CPR until 1868.<sup>58</sup>

The number and location of sawmills were important because Chinese archaeological sites were located near abandoned sawmill operations. In 1868, the CPR had 50 carloads of railroad ties shipped daily from the Truckee Basin towns and 66,000,000 feet of timber from Truckee alone.<sup>59</sup> Crystal Peak reached its height in 1867 because the logging operations supplied the ties, buildings, bridge timbers, and other facilities for the CPR construction.

In July 1868, the *Reno Crescent* reported that the town had five stores, four hotels, and numerous saloons. The town reported had 1,500 residents, 1,000 of who were Chinese.<sup>60</sup> In 1868, the Chinese reportedly were merchants, gamblers, butchers, freighters, and a host of other occupations.<sup>61</sup> In that same year, the CPR by-passed Crystal Peak and the town began to die, lasting another few years.

One of the lumber magnets working the area was John P. Foulkes. Foulkes built the toll bridge over the Truckee River in 1862, owned the “Snug” Saloon in Crystal Peak in 1867,<sup>62</sup> and became interested in lumbering. The Old Excelsior sawmill southwest of Crystal Peak was built in 1864 and then purchased by John P. Foulkes & Company around 1874.

During the 1874 season, Foulkes cut 800,000 feet of lumber for the Nevada market.<sup>63</sup> He expanded his operations by building several mills, including the Essex Mill that did planing and shingles. He used a horse chute (horses tow the logs along the chute) to transport logs to the mill.<sup>64</sup> According to the 1880 census for Verdi, Foulkes employed 10 Chinese in his lumber mill.<sup>65</sup>

By the 1880s, because of the mining bust of the Comstock and the decreasing wood needs of the railroads, Foulkes produced box shooks (slates to make fruit boxes for shipping) and shipped his lumber to California.<sup>66</sup>

In 1874, there were only a little more than 100 Chinese engaged in cutting wood in Crystal Peak.<sup>67</sup> According to the Nevada State Journal (August 9, 1874), the Chinese followed Euro-American lumber operations, scavenging remaining

trees, stumps, roots, and brush in Crystal Peak and Verdi for sale as cordwood.<sup>68</sup> The Chinese still owned two teams to haul the cordwood to the railroad station at Verdi. The remains of a placer pan at one Chinese site in the area suggest that a few Chinese cordwood cutters also engaged in mineral exploration, perhaps in their spare time.<sup>69</sup> Thus Crystal Peak declined. In its place was Verdi, as the lumbering center, and Reno, as the commercial center.

With the construction of the VTR line from Reno to the Comstock, the wood could be shipped easily. One of the biggest lumber enterprises in western Nevada and central-eastern California was the Verdi Lumber Company (VLC) with R. S. Meacham, B. F. Rhodes, S.A. Hamlin, William H. Young, J. M. Foxwell, and William Merrill as trustees.<sup>70</sup> VLC began in 1874 with a mill along the Truckee River, and then expanded the mill in 1881 while adding a box factory.

In 1876, the VLC built an impressive V-flume from Dog Valley Creek to Verdi that easily ran 50 MBM of lumber. The linkage between railroad construction and flume construction can be seen in one of the VLC's main log chutes with two branches that ended at the main donkey platform along the VLC railroad. Rail spikes were used to fasten the timber to the chute.<sup>71</sup>

VLC employed Chinese workers to unload the lumber from its mill on the North Fork of Dog Creek onto the CPR at the Verdi station.<sup>72</sup> Mills in this region, like the VLC's mill, were located near water and forests so that timber could be transported easily by flumes or floating. The timber was cut from Dog Valley and a flume from Dog Valley to Verdi transported the timber to the mill.

With technological improvements, a steam tractor was used for transportation and by 1900, the company's logging railroad linked the area with the Boca and Loyaltan Railroad.<sup>73</sup> The company expanded into California, but eventually exhausted its timber resources in the mid-1920s. The Verdi mill burned in May 1926 and the fortunes of the VLC began to decline. A well-run and efficiently organized business, it was the mainstay of Verdi and its vicinity.

Oliver Lonkey and E. R. Smith of Virginia City established the Verdi Planing Mill with eight employees to dress lumber and cut shingles.<sup>74</sup> Lonkey had been active in lumbering in the area since 1862 and opened several mills in the Tahoe basin and Sierra Nevada region. He moved to the Verdi-Truckee area in 1882.

Approximately \$60,000 was used to build several sawmills in Dog Valley. All kinds of lumber, some furniture, and boxes were manufactured there. The Dog Valley sawmill was in full operation in the 1870s and shipped their lumber out through Verdi.<sup>75</sup> Fires caused several of the mills to be rebuilt, and in 1888 the corporation was renamed Verdi Mill Company and produced dressed lumber of all kinds. By 1900, it was enlarged and renamed the Verdi Lumber Company.<sup>76</sup>



Verdi Lumber Mill

The Truckee Lumber Company (TLC), the largest lumber outfit in the Truckee Canyon area, was an example of a big firm. It began in 1864 at Coburn Station, California, had an office and warehouse in San Francisco near the freight yards, a planing mill and sash and door factory on the San Francisco waterfront (to supply ships), a plant in Salt Lake City near the Utah Central Railroad (giving it access to Utah, Idaho, and Montana), and a warehouse and receiving yard near at the Rio Grande Western Railroad (now Denver and Rio Grande Western) terminus (giving it access to Colorado and Utah).<sup>77</sup>

In 1883, Frederick Katz and Patrick Henry, two small independent owners operating since 1879, sold their mill, lumber, land, and Dog Valley flume to the TLC for \$45,000.<sup>78</sup> Katz then worked for the TLC. The TLC annually cut 4-to-6 million feet of lumber and had a 7-mile V-flume to Verdi. TLC closed its operations in the area in 1900. Unlike the aforementioned companies, it is unknown if the TLC used Chinese workers.

The Pacific Wood, Lumber, and Flume Company flumed lumber to Huffakers, seven miles from downtown Reno, where the VTR then took it to the Comstock. The PWLFC owned more than 3,000 acres of timberland in 1877 and reportedly cut 25,000 feet daily between 1874 and 1877. The company had 120 Chinese piling and loading wood at its flume terminus at Huffakers.<sup>79</sup> No other mention was made of using Chinese workers, but Chinese often were employed as flume herders. Owners Mackay and Fair employed about 800 loggers and sawmill workers in their lumbering operations.<sup>80</sup>

Another interesting use of Chinese labor was in mining coal and making charcoal. In 1864, coal was discovered in Dog Creek Canyon and several companies formed to mine it, but it was of low quality. In 1868, the Central Pacific could burn some of this coal, so it was mined again, but again regarded as low quality.<sup>81</sup> In 1872 Sisson, Wallace, and Company employed more than 350 Chinese to cut wood and make charcoal near Truckee for the CPR and the



smelting furnaces for the reduction of silver in Nevada and Utah.<sup>82</sup> In 1874, the company shipped 1,000 to 8,000 bushels of charcoal weekly to Virginia City and in April 1874 Utah ordered 8,000 bushels per day.<sup>83</sup>

In the late 1980s, archaeologist Susan Lindstrom discovered 150 charcoal ovens in Truckee at the “Old Greenwood” site and concluded that this may be the highest density of charcoal ovens in the United States.<sup>84</sup> The Chinese have been making charcoal for centuries, and in addition to its use for heating and cooking, the soot of the charcoal was used for ink. Therefore, several major firms used Chinese workers in the lumbering industry in this region during the 1860s to 1880s. They performed several different tasks, but more research is needed to determine the variety of activities.

### **Counting the Chinese in Lumbering**

Counting the number of Chinese employed in various aspects of the lumbering industry was difficult in 1870 and 1880.<sup>85</sup> Since the census was taken in June, many of the Chinese were in the forests and therefore were not counted. Moreover, the mobile nature of the occupation itself made tracing individuals almost impossible.

In 1870, only three men (Hi Sonee, age 32, Su Su, age 35, Ah Hin, age 25) were listed in Carson City as woodcutters. The number increased to 45 in 1880, but none of these men had the same name as the three earlier wood cutters. This might suggest that this was a transient occupation among most Chinese.

The 1880 census manuscript for Carson City listed six Chinese woodchoppers and one Chinese cook in the Chubbuck enclave.<sup>86</sup> Three of the Chinese woodchoppers, ages 28, 34, and 42, were married and three, ages 17, 20, and 32, were single. Another sixteen Chinese woodchoppers lived in the next residence with Chauncy Lotta and his family. They ranged in age from 18 to 51, eight of whom were married.

Like the majority of Chinese workers in this period, their wives either lived in a large Chinatown or in China, the latter unable to join their husbands due to immigration laws. However, married men were more responsible and stable since they had to support a family. Most of the Chinese were categorized as laborers, which could mean working in the mines, in the lumbering industry, or other types of occupations.

The other Chinese woodchoppers and lumbermen lived in Chinatown scattered among the Chinese population. Carson City even had a Chinese carpenter and a wood dealer. The wood dealer, Hing Luck, age 40, a married man, lived with Kong Chi, age 44, a wood packer, and Fing Hap, a 27-year-old unmarried woman who kept house. The Chinese, who traditionally were very family-oriented, often substituted an “employment family” for the natal family, especially when the men were related in some way or another.

In 1870, the Crystal Peak census listed eight Chinese woodchoppers, whose ages ranged from 20-to-40, one Chinese laundryman, and two Chinese cooks.<sup>87</sup> The reputed 1,000 of 1868 were either no longer there or not counted or permanently resided elsewhere. In nearby Truckee Meadows, there were 16 Chinese woodchoppers whose ages ranged from 14-to-41, one Chinese laborer

who was involved in lumbering, five Chinese cooks, and three Chinese laborers working in agriculture. All of the Chinese woodchoppers in Truckee Meadows lived in two dwellings that were probably boarding houses. Most of the Euro-Americans in the lumbering industry lived in boarding houses of 10 people.

In 1875, the state census for Verdi listed three Chinese woodchoppers, whose age ranged from 23-to-28, and 11 Chinese laborers who boarded with the Chinese and Euro-American woodchoppers.<sup>88</sup> This suggests that interracial housing was available and utilized. There were four additional laborers whose ages ranged from 14-to-50. This is a far cry from the estimated 100-plus Chinese reported in the *Daily Nevada State Journal* (Reno), who were supposedly chopping wood.<sup>89</sup> That same article pointed out that the Chinese owned two teams to haul the cord wood to the nearby railroad tracks, but the census listed no Chinese teamsters in the area unless the Chinese teamsters lived in Truckee and were counted there.

By 1880, the federal census had more details.<sup>90</sup> Between Reno and Verdi there were eight Chinese residents, including Ah Jack (age 42), the labor contractor, and Ah Chung (age 18), his cook. These two individuals were the only Chinese living with non-Chinese. Otherwise the pattern of segregated residence re-emerged. The remaining six were laborers.

In Verdi there were 10 Chinese laborers who worked for John Foulkes<sup>91</sup> and one Chinese cook. Apparently, a Chinatown was established, but on October 21, 1890 the Chinatown burned down.<sup>92</sup> Below Verdi near Steamboat Dock, there were 47 Chinese laborers living in six residences that also probably were boarding houses.

In the Truckee River Valley, there were 21 Chinese railroad workers (section hands), 5 Chinese gardeners, and 2 Chinese cooks for farming families. Huffrakers had 4 Chinese, but only 2 (Ah Wah, 35, and Ah Hin, 45) worked in lumbering. They worked for the lumberman Patrick Henry.

In Franktown, Ah Shue, 30, cooked for the wood contractor Duncan McRae. Therefore, it is obvious that the census taker undercounted the Chinese or the newspapers exaggerated the number of Chinese in the vicinity.

The smallness of the Chinese population meant that for supplies and recreation, the Chinese went either to Truckee, California, or Reno, Nevada. The wealthier ones might go to Marysville, California, where there was a large Chinatown and three Chinese opera companies to entertain the populace or to Sacramento or San Francisco with large urban Chinatowns. Since Truckee was closer, it was easier to travel there. Moreover, as typical of most lumbering camps, there were few women in the camps and certainly no Chinese women.

### **Truckee, California's Chinese**

Census manuscript records indicated a growth in the Chinese population in nearby Truckee. In 1870, there were 408 Chinese.<sup>93</sup> This was a Chinese community where railroad workers and woodchoppers could live and relax. Although there was a Chinatown built on former railroad property, some of the Chinese lived outside of the small area and others lived with Euro-Americans, indicating some degree of interaction.



Seventy of Truckee's woodchoppers were Chinese and many or all of them worked for Elle Ellen and Sisson, Wallace, and Company (later Sisson, Crocker, and Company).<sup>94</sup> The woodchoppers received \$1.50 per cord and the wood sold for \$3.75 to \$4.00 at the railroad station.<sup>95</sup> There were 11 grocers who were the most powerful and wealthiest Chinese men in town with a total of \$6,500 of real property (96% of the Chinese-owned land) and \$10,200 in personal property.

The grocers were listed as "merchants" in the next census and played the same role of intermediaries between the Chinese and non-Chinese communities. The wealthiest and most prominent of these was Fong Lee. Two women, one with a three-month-old baby named Colfax, constituted the "proper women" as opposed to the 22 prostitutes.

There were four doctors who treated both the Chinese and non-Chinese population and two were known for their prevention and treatment of venereal diseases. The prostitutes, gamblers, and opium houses offered recreational activities and the physicians provided needed medical assistance. The major occupation of the Chinese in Truckee was in the lumbering industry.

Nevada County Assessor's Records for 1868 and 1870 listed approximately 35 Chinese property owners, most notably store owners and herbalists.<sup>96</sup> Property records<sup>97</sup> indicated that Loon Tong Chung and Toy Hong (not listed in the census in 1870 or 1880 as such) purchased on February 1, 1876, lots on Main Street from Charles Crocker.

Quong Sing Lung (b. 1840), a merchant in Truckee in 1880, purchased two lots on Main Street in Chinatown on September 23, 1876, from Charles Crocker. Chinese labor had contributed to the completion of the Central Pacific and Crocker undoubtedly leased the land to the Chinese, who erected Chinatowns along the railroad tracks, then later sold land to various Chinese individuals who had been successful. These three men in Truckee were examples of this practice.

In 1875, Toy Wong paid Frederick Burckhalter \$200 for lot 31 on East Main Street. The largest land deal recorded was the purchase of two springs, one on seven acres of land south of the Truckee Land Association and one on the seven acres of hill in back of Chinatown on the south side of the Truckee River for a water system. The Yeck Yu Company, an organization of Chinese merchants of Truckee, paid \$600 for the springs.

A decade later, the leading citizens of Truckee's Chinatown apparently changed in this typically fluid frontier population. Of the 295 Chinese in Truckee and vicinity, three were merchants and one was a bookkeeper. There were no grocers reported. The merchants undoubtedly combined retail merchandising and groceries.

There were 2 agents (probably labor contractors),<sup>98</sup> 15 cooks, 8 children, 1 wife (the mother of 4 of the children), 2 servants, 2 physicians (not the same ones as a decade earlier), 3 laundrymen, 2 butchers, 17 male railroad workers, 10 female railroad workers (this may have been an error in the designation of sex or in the occupation), 8 gamblers, 3 peddlers, 8 teamsters, 19 laborers, 23 mill workers, 30 lumber pilers, and 137 wood choppers.<sup>99</sup> The Chinese constituted

69% of the town's manual laborers. The recreational character of the town from the previous decade had disappeared – at least according to the census. The dramatic increase in the number of Chinese reflected the growing involvement of the Chinese in the lumbering industry.

### **Chinese Wood Choppers**

Some insight into the Chinese woodchopper can be gained from Ormsby County's district court records. The earliest lawsuit involving Chinese and Euro-American lumber began on December 2, 1870. *Ah Sing v. Edward D. Sweeney* (Case 927) involved a disagreement as to whether Ah Sing, a labor contractor, was due \$1,158.77 for wood cut according to two express contracts. On February 28, 1872, the case was settled out of court.<sup>100</sup> Shortly thereafter, Sweeney went into partnership with Seth Martin to operate a shingle mill at the mouth of Prosser Creek.<sup>101</sup>

Chinese companies also sued fellow companies in court when the argument could not be settled among privately. On December 31, 1870, Hong Yick and Ah Chuck, doing business as Hong Yick and Company, sued Quong Hing and Company over an August 1870 contract for wood chopping and splitting.<sup>102</sup> The plaintiffs wanted \$1,410 for about 600 cords of wood that they took to the market.

Quong Hing and Company felt that they were only entitled to \$1,300 because Hong Yick had fraudulently measured the wood. Two famous Nevadans, M. S. Bonfield and Henry M. Yerington, weighed in on the case. Since the plaintiffs could prove their case through their talented attorneys, T. D. Edwards and William Patterson, they won.

In *Ah Tong v. State of Nevada* (March 12, 1872, Case 147), a criminal case, woodchopper Ah Chow who lived in Clear Creek, at the south end of Carson City, testified that he chopped wood for the last two years. Prior to 1870 he lived in Virginia City in a dormitory of the railroad camp.<sup>103</sup> This case is another example of the connection between railroad work and lumbering.

From another court case, the pay for cordwood cutting was revealed. Contrary to popular accounts, the type of wood cut determined the pay. In 1874, Ah Loy sued Alexander Johnson for \$886 in wages. Between November 25, 1873, and November 1, 1874, Ah Loy split and piled 1,955 cords of wood for \$1.12 ½ per cord; 1,090 cords of wood for \$2.62 ½ per cord and 155 cords of wood for \$2 per cord, totaling \$5,381. Johnson paid him only \$4,497 and refused Ah Loy's demand for the remaining amount. As a result, Ah Loy went to court and on November 20, 1874, was awarded \$886 plus costs.<sup>104</sup>

On July 7, 1875, the Chinese won a lawsuit against Hugh Porter. The partners of Quong Hing and Company of Carson City (Sam Hing, Sam Kee, Yuk Chung, and Ah Sam aka Sam Gibson or Non Chong Yee), stated that they had been doing business since 1870, and in December 1873 had a contract for cutting wood.<sup>105</sup> Although the firm dealt in general merchandising, it also catered to the lumber companies and lumbermen. It also was a labor contractor and hired an undisclosed number of workers.

Non Chong Yee (aka Sam Gibson), apparently spoke English well, paid the poll taxes for several Chinese, and was a good friend of Duane Bliss, who later visited him in Guangdong. On July 15, 1874, the job for Porter was completed. Approximately 4,177 cords of wood, 4 feet in length, were cut at \$1.80 per cord. Porter, who later operated two mills in the Dog Valley/Verdi area beginning in 1897, only paid Quong Hing \$6,074.05, so the Chinese firm hired attorneys Harris and Coffin for the difference of \$1,502.56. The court ordered Porter to pay the difference.

As the anti-Chinese movement became more influential, the Chinese began to lose court cases. On December 1, 1880, the Sun Han Tong Company, a woodchopping firm with Ah Chow, Ah Pang, and Ah On as the partners, sued Charles Funkhouse over cutting, rolling, splitting, and cording wood. About 912 ½ cords of split wood was priced at \$2.12 ½ per cord, 55 ½ cords of limb wood at \$1.87 ½ per cord, and \$103.06 for limb and split wood, totaling \$2,043.12 ½. The court awarded the money to Sun Han Tong Company, but Funkhouse appealed and the earlier decision was reversed.

The final example of court cases demonstrated that the pay scale was the same for cordwood contractors. Hi Wah and Duncan McRae and the Sierra [Nevada?] Wood and Lumber Company settled their differences over payments on February 19, 1881 in the Ormsby District Court.<sup>106</sup> Hi Wah, a Chinese contracting company, hired Ty Hing, Sing Foy, We Duc, Ah Lung, Lun Foy, and Ah Neo to cut and cord the wood. They were to receive \$1.50 per cord. They cut 1,500 cords of wood. McRae was to cut 9,948 cords of wood at the same rate.

Although McRae had a Chinese cook, he presumably hired Euro-Americans to do the cutting for him. This important case demonstrated that the pay for the job was equal, but the number of workmen obviously was different and the commission to the Chinese contractor consequently was smaller. Moreover, according to Chinese American tradition, the contractor usually provided at least lunch and tea to his work crew.

Lumbermen, many of who were often recent immigrants, usually were the only ones willing to live in isolated conditions.<sup>107</sup> In the 1850s, they worked for 12 hours per day, 6 days a week, usually in small groups of 10-to-15 men.<sup>108</sup> However, it was seasonal work and when the snows came, work opportunities ended or declined.

In the northeast lumbermen lived in "crude one-room shanties...roofed over with split poles, marsh hay, and earth."<sup>109</sup> Chinese sites were distinguishable from Euro-American sites because of the imported material culture from China that could be found, the practice of recycling materials (such as kerosene can shingles, perforated cans for strainers, re-shaped cans for pouring oil for frying), and the small amount of refuse.<sup>110</sup> What is not known is whether they brought tools from China or adopted western tools for their work.

In Nevada, the Chinese lived in small cabins usually made of lumber and the roofs of flattened cans for protection from snowstorms. Since lumber was in abundance, the roofs were important and moved when the workmen moved. Often the Chinese would take over cabins abandoned by Euro-American workers.

This was more convenient than building another structure. Like the Euro-American lumbermen, they often lived from 3-to-12 in a cabin. Sometimes, as can be seen in some male-dominated rooms in San Francisco's Chinatown, they rotated in and out of a cabin because they had more than one dwelling.

The Chinese continued their traditional diet as best they could. When they cooked Chinese food in the wok (Chinese fry pan), they often set it in stones or bricks so that the high fire required would not burn any structures. They imported foodstuffs, both dried and in cans or pottery jars, dishware and chopsticks, and their beverages (tea, wine, whiskey). The Chinese in the Verdi/Crystal Peak area were not as wealthy as those in the Tahoe basin. This can be seen from the pottery bowl remains.

In the Tahoe basin, there were American teapots and winter melon green rice bowls, which were twice as expensive as other Chinese dishware. However, since some items were difficult to obtain or they had developed a liking for some American foods, there was a gradual adaptation or change in their dietary habits. They used American silverware, especially spoons.

Sometimes they transported their cast-iron stove and heater by splitting it in two and used a traditional carrying pole to move this essential item.<sup>111</sup> The Chinese also reused items, making tin cans into cooking utensils such as steamers and cooking oil dispensers. The Chinese were neater and as a result, Chinese sites have less refuse than Euro-American sites.

Opium tins and Chinese "whiskey" or "wine" bottles often were found in Chinese wood camps. If used in small quantities, a dose of opium acted as an analgesic. If the job was boring, such as flume herding, recreational use and subsequent addiction could occur. Opium also depressed sexual desires. Chinese alcoholic beverages were used for cooking soups, especially in the winter, for recreational drinking, as an analgesic, and to speed up the healing process for bruises. In the Chinese cemetery in Carlin, Elko County, Nevada, all of the 13 men buried there around the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century had major or minor fractures (some treated and some not treated), so the need for analgesics was not unusual.<sup>112</sup>

They preserved important traditional holidays, especially Chinese New Year's (according to the lunar calendar), but they also supported and adopted American holidays such as Christmas and July 4<sup>th</sup> celebrations.

### **Anti-Chinese Movements and the Decline of the Chinese in Lumbering**

Scholars have debated the causes for the rise anti-Chinese movements. Racism, especially the 18<sup>th</sup>-to-19<sup>th</sup> century pseudo-scientific belief in the superiority of whites, gained prominence just prior to the Civil War and often was said to be the leading cause. Economic competition, especially the new labor unions, focused upon "cheap Chinese labor" that led to white unemployment.

Since the Chinese were disenfranchised, the anti-Chinese rallies were an unchallenged issue binding various factions in the political arena. In an era of Americans struggling to determine their own identity because of the large influx of immigrants from non-Anglo-Saxon countries, the un-assimilating Chinese, who were sojourners and preserved their cultural traditions, did not fit into the "melting

pot.” Chinese exclusion acts demonstrated the success of the movements.<sup>113</sup> All of these factors came into play with the Chinese in lumbering.

The earliest recorded anti-Chinese movement in lumbering was directed against Colonel Johnson, who employed eight-to-nine Chinese on his large wood ranch near Washoe City in June, 1867.<sup>114</sup> Their presence at his ranch and the report that there were about 200 other Chinese woodchoppers working the hills around El Dorado Canyon gave rise to an anti-Chinese movement to drive the Chinese out of the business.<sup>115</sup>

The precedent for this was the resolution that prohibited Chinese from mining adopted by Gold Hill miners in 1859. These anti-Chinese lumbering actions were a reaction to the fact that the Chinese had made so much money during the dreadful winter of 1867 selling cordwood on the Comstock. Moreover, the laborers in mining and other occupations were trying to get organized to protect their jobs.

The agitators started an anti-coolism club that eventually linked with the one in San Francisco. The local newspaper, the Eastern Slope (June 3, 1867), took the stance that since the Chinese were permitted to immigrate, they should be permitted to labor. On June 22, 1867, the same newspaper published a long editorial defending the Chinese as providers of a service to the development of the Pacific coast, freeing it from the domination of the manufacturers of the East coast. In the concluding remarks, the editorial stated: “...Chinese labor has thus far on this coast had the same effect to raise wages of labor, inasmuch as through their labor the resources of the State have been developed as they could not have been developed except for that labor.”

Another incident took place in May 1868. Known as the “Anti-Chinese Wood-Chopper War,” Seymour Pixley and Patrick Henry Clayton stirred Euro-American woodchoppers to try to get the Chinese woodchoppers off of Senator James Haines’ farm in Genoa.<sup>116</sup> Haines persuaded the crowd that although he employed many Chinese, the same wage was offered to everyone. The matter ended without any violence, but a few Chinese had been captured and then released.

Anti-Chinese demonstrations became more violent. In April 1869, 450 Chinese who had worked on the CPR, were hired to construct the VTR. In September, some 350 Comstock miners marched to a Chinese railroad camp, drove them out, and destroyed their living quarters.<sup>117</sup> William Sharon, heading the VTR project, made a deal with the miners and promised that none of his Chinese workers would become miners. Numerous other incidents followed.

One example was the robbery and attempted murder of two Chinese at a Chinese wood camp one-mile south of Crystal Peak. In February 1875, three Euro-Americans robbed the Chinese of \$25 and wounded two of the twelve Chinese in the cabin.<sup>118</sup> A year later, the Caucasian League set fire to a Chinese cabin occupied by three Chinese about a mile north of Truckee and as the Chinese escaped from the burning cabin, the mob killed one and seriously wounded another.<sup>119</sup> Known as the “Trout Creek Outrage,” all of the men arrested for the crime were freed after the trial. This was a common situation.

In July 1876, another killing occurred at Huffakers at the cabin of 10 Chinese workers.<sup>120</sup> A Reno Evening Gazette editorial (April 6, 1876), stated, "The Chinese may be a nuisance, but they are here in answer to our invitations, and under treaty, must be protected." Nevertheless, when the Euro-Americans were arrested and tried, they almost always were freed.

Anti-Chinese organizations grew more numerous. Stagnation was the prevailing condition not only in this area but also globally.<sup>121</sup> Various plans were devised to rid towns and cities of the Chinese. One of the main problems was the fact that the CPR had leased or sold their railroad land along the tracks to the Chinese and as towns expanded, they found Chinatowns in their midst.

This was the case in Truckee. There had been some harmonious co-existence due to minimal economic competition and survival based on interdependence, but these relationships were very tenuous. When a fire broke out in the heart of Chinatown on May 29, 1875, causing the Chinese to incur \$50,000 worth of damages, the Truckee "citizens," fearing damage to their property, decided to try first to isolate the Chinese and later remove them to a location across the Truckee River.<sup>122</sup>

A few weeks later, in preparation for the Fourth of July celebration, the Truckee Republican (June 30, 1875) praised the Chinese:

The spirit of generosity ever pervades the Chinese element.  
Ah Chow will furnish all the help that is wanted to do the work [for the celebration] and old Fong Lee will give all the Chinese confectionery that it is advisable should be eaten on this occasion.

Shortly thereafter, the tone changed as an economic depression began in 1876 in California and 1877 when the Comstock began to decline. On August 31, 1878, the Truckee Republican reported that there was a 50% decrease in sawmilling from the previous season and five local mills had shut down. The Caucasian League once again went into action, and in November a mob of 500 razed Chinatown and ordered the Chinese to leave.<sup>123</sup> The Chinese rebuilt their Chinatown on the south side of the river in compliance to earlier demands. The Euro-American merchants<sup>124</sup> offered free rice to "sweeten" the deal.

The anti-Chinese movement began to have national support. In 1882, the Chinese Exclusion Act prohibited the immigration of Chinese labors (eventually defined as Chinese of all classes except merchants and their wives and students). All of the discriminatory factors came into play. The sensitivity of Euro-Americans against the Chinese was heightened.

Politicians and labor leaders used the anti-Chinese rallying cry to gain support. Many began to feel that the 1882 Exclusion Act was not effective and devised their own methods of getting rid of the Chinese. This movement had been intensified by the severity of a nationwide depression, the growth of Pacific coast labor organizations, the 1885 act prohibiting contract labor, and the decline of the Comstock and other mines in Nevada. At the same time, the forests in the Sierras and Tahoe basin were depleted and technological improvements in lumbering no longer required large crews of unskilled labor.

Truckee gained national attention in its effort to solve their “Chinese problem.” Charles Fayette McGlashan (1847-1931), the editor of the Truckee Republican, had been supportive of the Chinese presence in Truckee until he got into politics.<sup>125</sup> Between 1884 and 1886, he represented Nevada County in the California Assembly and his newspaper reflected his newly adopted anti-Chinese stance. He saw the displacement of white lumbermen.

In 1870, five of the 70 woodchoppers in Truckee were Euro-Americans, but by 1880, only one of 131 woodchoppers were Euro-Americans.<sup>126</sup> The Chinese were displacing “white labor” and the rally cry began as unemployment grew. In January 1886, the infamous “Truckee method” of ridding the town of Chinese workers was instituted.<sup>127</sup> The method was to boycott all employers of Chinese labor and drive the Chinese out of town.

The Truckee Republican (February 3, 1886), said, “Let the China lovers get on their side of the line that all may know them for what they are...teach little ones to abhor them. [Let] the first words that fall from a baby’s lips...be ‘Shame you China lover’.” In his master’s thesis, Michael A. Goldstein interpreted the events as the insiders (local business leaders and Euro-Americans) pitted against the outsiders (Sisson, Crocker, and Company, a CPR subsidiary; Elle Ellen, a foreign-born millman; and Oliver Lonkey, a French-Canadian) who employed large numbers of Chinese woodcutters.

By January 13, the Chinese population dropped from 700-to-500-to-97.<sup>128</sup> The last holdout was Sisson, Crocker, and Company, so the anti-Chinese leaders called for a boycott of all of the Sisson, Crocker, and Company businesses in California, Nevada, and Arizona. Sisson, Crocker, and Company rescinded their contracts with Chinese agents Quong Sing Lung and Tuck Chong.<sup>129</sup>

The anti-Chinese group won, but a number of Chinese remained in town until a June 1886 fire destroyed Chinatown, killing three men.<sup>130</sup> By 1900, only two Chinese out of a population of 2,050 lived in Truckee. By 1909, the seven big companies in the Truckee area ceased to cut timber in the Truckee basin because of the sluggish sales of wood.

The anti-Chinese sentiment spread to other locations. Carson City’s Chinatown became the target of hostility and violence. In 1880, Ormsby County had the largest Chinese population in the state, and by 1900 hardly any remained.

Non Chong Yee of Quong Hing and Company was one of the Chinese merchants and labor contractors driven out of town. Some time between 1885 and 1886, he took his wife and two of his three children back to Guangdong.<sup>131</sup> Apparently, he left in such a hurry that he was forced to leave his oldest daughter, Ah Cum, behind because she had been staying with either friends or relatives. When the environment calmed down, he sent his only son back to Carson City to work in Quong Hing and Company with the help of Duane L. Bliss.

By 1900, most of the Chinese in lumbering had moved to northern California, Oregon, Washington, or British Columbia where the lumber industry was growing. Some retired from this type of arduous work and took up cooking, farming, laundering, or other occupations in the service industry. A few persisted

in the wood chopping. Day Kee was one such individual.<sup>132</sup> Based upon his 1905 application for a duplicate certificate of residence, required by an 1892 act to prevent illegal Chinese immigration, Day Kee had lived in Nevada City for 11 years before moving to Dayton, where he resided in 1905. His original certificate issued in 1892 burned while he was working at a wood camp. The Immigration Bureau issued him a duplicate.

Technological improvements also contributed to the decline in the number of Chinese in the lumbering industry. This affected Euro-Americans as well. By the 1880s, animal and human power was greatly assisted by steam: steam donkeys yanked the logs off the mountains, steam engines hauled them to the mill, steam-powered sawmills cut them into lumber and the steam locomotives transported the lumber to the market.<sup>133</sup> The lumber industry revived somewhat when Congress opened unreserved government timberland to lumbermen.<sup>134</sup> Overseas sales grew.

In 1897, Hong Kong, for example, imported 26,389 tons of timber.<sup>135</sup> In 1910, the Southern Pacific Railroad, successor to the CPR, was the largest timber holder in the country.<sup>136</sup> In the southern Sierras, V-shaped wooden flumes, chutes, and inclines floated the lumber from the mills to the railroad stations until 1931, when the depressed market led to their closure. Building and maintaining flumes were costly so in this area only the most valuable species, the Ponderosa and Sugar Pines, were logged.

Logging railroad and high-speed cable yarders, used between 1900 and 1920, were replaced by tractor-truck logging. Other types of trees were cut for sale primarily in California. By the time the slowdown in the lumbering industry occurred in 1930, Chinese workers were no longer involved in the business.

## Conclusion

The Chinese played a significant role in the development of the West. This is the first study to attempt to document their history in this occupation. As workers in the lumbering industry, they worked in many tasks in the Tahoe and Truckee basins. Their salaries may not have been that different from their Euro-American counterparts, but they worked under a labor boss, Chinese or American, who had the contract with the lumber companies.

Positive interaction with the majority community is required before acculturation and assimilation can take place. The Chinese were more isolated than most others because of the nature of their work and their constant movement. The violence against the Chinese in lumbering certainly did not endure them to American society, but this has to be balanced with the positive relations that grew up between men like Non Chong Yee and Duane L. Bliss. As historian Shehong Chen pointed out in her study, Being Chinese, Becoming Chinese American, the transition takes place more slowly than other immigrant groups because of the absence of families.<sup>137</sup> When the mining boom was over and the railroads, both interstate and intrastate, had been completed, the need for lumber products decreased significantly. The depletion of the forests and the advent of new technology, combined with the ever-increasing anti-Chinese



movements, contributed to the decline of the Chinese in this occupation by the 1890s.

The Chinese were resilient and either moved into other occupations or continued this type of work elsewhere. The 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act and subsequent restrictive measures created a void in laborers. Japanese immigrants, who went into the lumbering industry and could be found in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century in lumber towns like Truckee, temporarily replaced Chinese workers.<sup>138</sup> The similarity between their experiences and those of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century Chinese workers in lumbering has yet to be told.

The story of the Chinese would not have been told except for the archaeological work being done through the auspices of the United States Forest Service, Humboldt-Toiyable National Forest, particularly Fred Frampton and Terry Birk, working in conjunction with Donald Hardesty and his graduate students at the University of Nevada, Reno. Much has yet to be discovered and through the Forest Service's Passport in Time projects, much will be learned.

A bullwhacker named Dan McNeil, composed a requiem for his trade:

Then I was king of the whole woods-crew,  
And I ruled with an iron grip;  
And never a slob on the whole dam' job  
Dared give me any lip.  
But now, alas, my days are past;  
There's no job for me here.  
My bulls are killed and my place is filled  
By a donkey engineer.  
Instead of my stately team of bulls  
All stepping along so fine,  
A greasy old engine toots and coughs  
And hauls in the turn with a line.

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<sup>1</sup> Leslie Kibler Hill, "The Historical Archaeology of Ethnic Woodcutters in the Carson Range," unpublished master's thesis, University of Nevada, Reno, 1987, details the Chinese role in the lumber industry in the Carson and Tahoe basin.

<sup>2</sup> Constance Darrow Knowles, "A History of Lumbering in the Truckee Basin from 1856 to 1836," Report for the California Forest and Range Experiment Station, October 26, 1942, typewritten mss, University of California, Berkeley, Bancroft Library, BANC mss 73/122 C 119; Victor O. Goodwin, "Verdi and Dog Valley—A Story of Land Abuse and Restoration," typewritten mss in the United States Forest Service Carson Ranger District Office, Carson City, NV, 1960; Kelly J. Dixon with E. Floyd Aranyosi, Richard W. Deis, and Harry W. Leeman, "Heritage Resource Inventory of the Crystal Fire Restoration Project, 1995, typewritten mss, Toiyabe National Forest Report TY-94-1059 and Tahoe National Forest Report 05-17-1125. I am indebted to Terry Birk and Fred Frampton for bringing these studies to my attention

<sup>3</sup> Dick Wilson, Sawdust Trails in the Truckee Basin: A History of Lumbering Operations, 1856-1936 (Nevada City, CA: Nevada County Historical Society, 1992); Marilou West Ficklin, Showdown at Truckee (Reno, NV: Western Book/Journal Press, 1997); M. Nona McGlashan, Give Me A Mountain Meadow: The Life of Charles Fayette McGlashan (1847-1931), (Fresno: Valley Publishers, 1977); Paul A. Lord, ed., Fire and Ice: A Portrait of Truckee (Truckee: Donner Historical Society, 1981); W. F. Edwards, Tourist Guide and Directory of the Truckee Basin (Truckee, 1883); Leslie Kibler Hill, "The Historical Archaeology," and Michael Andrew Goldstein, "Truckee's Chinese Community: From Coexistence to Disintegration, 1870-1890," unpublished master's thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1988..

<sup>4</sup> William G. Robbins, Lumberjacks and Legislators: Political Economy of the U.S. Lumber Industry, 1890-1941 (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 1982), 4.

<sup>5</sup> On the subject of Chinese immigration, see Erika Lee, At America's Gate: Chinese Immigration During the Exclusion Era, 1882-1943 (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2003).

<sup>6</sup> Flume herders made certain the logs did not jam going down the flume and kept the flume in good repair. The chute flagman kept an eye on the logs going down the chute or flume, sometimes at speeds averaging 90 miles per hour, and hosted a flag when the chute was clear so more logs could be sent down the mountain. Both jobs were very boring and dangerous. Many Chinese flume herders and flagman indulged in opium smoking as a past time.

<sup>7</sup> Ken Drushka, Working in the Woods: A History of Logging on the West Coast (Maidera Park, BC: Harbour Publishing, 1992) gives an excellent overview of the situation. "The extensive development of railway logging created a need for a variety of related tasks and equipment. The most basic of these was the construction of road grades. Throughout the West, from the late 1800s, contractors employed a large, transient population of railway labourers building main lines as well as industrial lines for logging and mining companies. In many cases these crews were Chinese, unorganized, underpaid, and discriminated against by exclusionary laws preventing them from engaging in higher-paying work or acquiring logging rights. Most of the work on logging lines was done by hand, using picks and shovels to level out a roadbed on which the ties and steel rails were laid. Commonly, labourers contracted to build "stations" consisting of 100 feet of roadbed for an agreed upon rate. Blasting powder, packed in hand-drilled holes, was used on rock cuts when they could not be avoided. The primary objective was to keep grades on main lines below two and a half to three percent, and spur lines below about six percent." (pp. 152-153)

<sup>8</sup> Sandy Lydon, Chinese Gold: The Chinese in the Monterey Bay Region (Capitola, CA: Capitola Book Company, 1985), 15.

<sup>9</sup> This is discussed in detail and illustrated in Thomas N. Layton, Gifts from the Celestial Kingdom: A Shipwrecked Cargo for Gold Rush California (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2002), 179-187.

<sup>10</sup> John W. Stephens, "A Quantitative History of Chinatown, San Francisco, 1870 and 1880," did the computations in a paper presented at a Chinese American conference in San Francisco. Paper in possession of author.

<sup>11</sup> Wells Fargo Company, Directory of Chinese Business Houses: San Francisco, Sacramento, Oakland, San Jose, Marysville, Los Angeles, Portland, Virginia City, Victoria, 1882, University of California, Berkeley, Bancroft Library. In San Francisco Fook Chan, carpenter, was at 752 Washington Street and

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Quong Tong On, carpenter, was at 123 ½ Waverly Place. The wood yards were: Chung Sing, 646 Pacific Street, Hop Lung, 721 Pacific Street, Sam Foo, 728 Pacific Street, Shoon Lee, 727 Pacific Street, Wing Hing, 922 Stockton Street (entered in directory twice), and Wing Hop & Company, 732 Jackson Street.

<sup>12</sup> Wong Fat Die's funeral was reported in Carson City Morning Appeal (January 15, 1884) but his name never appeared in the 1870 or 1880 Ormsby County census manuscript so his age and occupation are unknown. The obituary, "The Last Sad Rites: The Gorgeous Obsequies of Gen. Wong Fat Die," noted that he was a Mason (that is, belonging to the Zhigontang, a brotherhood opposed to Manchu rule in China) and had a well attended and spectacular funeral.

<sup>13</sup> W, B, Greeley, "Economic Aspects of Our Timber Supply," Scientific Monthly 16:4 (April 1923), 353.

<sup>14</sup> Goodwin, "Dog Valley," 8.

<sup>15</sup> The Henness Pass Turnpike and Toll Road between Marysville, Nevada City, and Grass Valley was built in 1859. See Goodwin, "Dog Valley," 8-9.

<sup>16</sup> For a general overview of the Chinese in Nevada, see Loren B. Chan, "The Chinese in Nevada: An Historical Survey, 1856-1970" in Arif Dirlik, ed., Chinese on the American Frontier (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001), 85-122; Gary P. BeDunnah, A History of the Chinese in Nevada 1855-1904 (San Francisco, CA: R and E Associates, 1973); and Sue Fawn Chung, "Destination: Nevada, the Silver Mountain" in Origins and Destinations: 1992 Conference on Chinese Americans, (Los Angeles, CA: Chinese Historical Society of Southern California and UCLA Asian American Studies, 1994), 111-139.

<sup>17</sup> For more on the Chinese on the Comstock, see Russell M. Magnaghi, "Virginia City's Chinese Community, 1860-1880," in Arif Dirlik, ed., Chinese on the American Frontier (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001), 123-148.

<sup>18</sup> Gold Hill Daily News, October 20, 1863.

<sup>19</sup> Gold Hill Daily News, March 1, 2, & 25, 1867; Territorial Enterprise, March 2 & 25, 1867; .

<sup>20</sup> Ping Chu, Chinese Labor in California, 1850-1880: An Economic Study (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Department of History, 1963), 151.

<sup>21</sup> Ping Chu, Chinese Labor, 41-42.

<sup>22</sup> The figures and dates differ. See Chu, Chinese Labor, 42-43.

<sup>23</sup> The number varies from 10,000 to 12,000, from 83% to 90% of the labor force. See, for example, George Seward, Chinese Immigration, its Social and Economic Aspects (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1881), 23-24 and Oscar Lewis, The Big Four: The Story of Huntington, Stanford, Hopkins, and Crocker and the Building of the Central Pacific (New York: Knopf, 1938), 70-71.

<sup>24</sup> RR July 26, 1866.

<sup>25</sup> From Historical and Statistical Abstracts of the Colony of Hong Kong, 1841-1930, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Hong Kong, 1932), quoted in Cox, Mills and Markets, 140.

<sup>26</sup> Erika Lee, At America's Gates, 117 gives the statistics of Chinese males and females admitted between 1870 and 1960.

<sup>27</sup> For more information on the building of the Central Pacific, see David H. Bain, Empire Express: The Building of the First Transcontinental Railroad (New York, Viking Press, 1999). Walter Tobey's sister married Duane L. Bliss. Sisson, Wallace, and Company was a subsidiary of the CPR and by 1880 the name had changed to Sisson, Crocker, and Company. Tobey sold timberland to Bliss. See the Papers of William W. Bliss, UNR 96-53 with inventory, University of Nevada, Reno, Special Collections Library for more information. Box 3 #179 contains the deed from Walter Tobey to the CTLFC for 296.01 acres in Douglas County in 1875. See Gunter Barth, Bitter Strength: A History of the Chinese in the United States, 1850-1870 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1964) on Sisson, Wallace, and Company's labor recruitment for the CPR. David F. Myrick, Railroads of Nevada and Eastern California (Berkeley: Howell-North, 1962-63), 2 vols.

<sup>28</sup> Cox, Mills and Markets, 139.

<sup>29</sup> See Tzy Kuei Yen, "Chinese Workers and the First Transcontinental Railroad of the United States of America," (Ph.D. diss., St. John's University, 1977).

<sup>30</sup> The labor contractor was the Evanston, Wyoming company of Beckwith, Quinn and Ah Say acted as the middleman but had been a section worker for the Union Pacific. Evanston Urban Renewal Agency, "The Chinese in Evanston, Wyoming, 1870-1939," Evanston, WY: Evanston Urban Renewal Agency, 1996, 2-3.

<sup>31</sup> <http://www.capaa.wa.gov/chineseamericans.html>.

<sup>32</sup> Cox, Mills and Markets, 202-203.

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- <sup>33</sup> This is explained in detail in George W. Sieber, "Railroads and Lumber Marketing 1858-78: The Relationship Between an Iowa Sawmill Firm and the Chicago & Northwestern Railroad," *Annals of Iowa* 39:1 (Summer 1967), 33-46.
- <sup>34</sup> George W. Sieber, "Railroads and Lumber Marketing," 39.
- <sup>35</sup> Constance Knowles, "A History of Lumbering," 1-2.
- <sup>36</sup> Constance Knowles, "A History of Lumbering," 3. For general information about technological improvements, see Time-Life Books, ed. with text by Richard L. Williams, *The Loggers* (Alexandria, VA: Time-Life Books, 1981), Chapter 3. The information in the latter is not always accurate.
- <sup>37</sup> Constance Knowles, "A History of Lumbering," 3.
- <sup>38</sup> Constance Knowles, "A History of Lumbering," 3.
- <sup>39</sup> Frank S. Wedertz, *Bodie 1859-1900*, (Bishop, CA: Chalfant Press, Inc., 1969), 155.
- <sup>40</sup> Barbara A. Vatter, *A Forest History of Douglas County, Oregon to 1900* (New York: Garland, 1985), 254.
- <sup>41</sup> Duane L. Bliss, "Data Concerning the Virginia & Truckee Railroad, and Those Who Planned and Carried out that Work," typewritten mss, University of California, Berkeley, Bancroft Library, BANC mss P-G 38.
- <sup>42</sup> State of Nevada, *Appendix to the Journal of the Senate and Assembly*, 10<sup>th</sup> Session (1880), (Carson City: J. W. Maddrill, 1881), Annual Report of the Controller, 13-19.
- <sup>43</sup> State of Nevada, *Appendix to the Journal*, 13-19.
- <sup>44</sup> Dick Wilson, *Sawdust Trails*, 71.
- <sup>45</sup> Details of the case can be found in the Nevada State Archives and Library. Fook Ling does not appear in the Douglas County 1870 or 1880 census manuscript. The 1890 census was destroyed by fire. Therefore there is no other information about this individual.
- <sup>46</sup> Stanley Paher, *Nevada Ghost Towns and Mining Camps* (Berkeley, CA: Howell-North, 1970), 39-53 covers Washoe and Ormsby Counties.
- <sup>47</sup> Raymond M. Smith, *Carson City Yesterdays* (Minden, NV: R. Smith, 1999), 26.
- <sup>48</sup> Leslie Kibler Hill, "The Historical Archaeology of Ethnic Woodcutters in the Carson Range," Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Nevada, Reno, 1987.
- <sup>49</sup> State of Nevada, *Senate Journal and Appendix*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Session (1866) (Carson City: John Church, 1866), Reports of the County Surveyors and County Assessors, 1865.
- <sup>50</sup> State of Nevada, *Appendix to Senate Proceedings*, 3<sup>rd</sup> Session (1867), (Carson City: Joseph Eckley, 1867), 74.
- <sup>51</sup> State of Nevada, *Appendix to Senate Proceedings*, 3<sup>rd</sup> Session (1867), 74.
- <sup>52</sup> State of Nevada, *Appendix to Senate Proceedings*, 3<sup>rd</sup> Session (1867), 74.
- <sup>53</sup> Kelly Dixon, "Heritages Resource Inventory," 21. These were temporary mills that could be moved easily to new timber stands once the old ones were exhausted.
- <sup>54</sup> Thomas Thompson and Albert West, *Thompson and West's History of Nevada, 1881*, introduction by David F. Myrick (Berkeley, CA: Howell-North, 1958) details this early history.
- <sup>55</sup> *Weekly Nevada State Journal* (Reno, January 23, 1875) and *Daily Nevada State Journal*, January 21, 1875 provides the information on Crystal Peak of the early 1870s.
- <sup>56</sup> Kelly Dixon, "Heritage Resource Inventory," 189.
- <sup>57</sup> Constance Knowles, "A History of Lumbering," 14.
- <sup>58</sup> Constance Knowles, "A History of Lumbering," 14.
- <sup>59</sup> Constance Knowles, "A History of Lumbering," 16.
- <sup>60</sup> This story is detailed in Victor O. Goodwin, "Verdi and Dog Valley," 15.
- <sup>61</sup> Victor O. Goodwin, "Verdi and Dog Valley," 15.
- <sup>62</sup> Victor O. Goodwin, "Verdi and Dog Valley," 12-13.
- <sup>63</sup> Victor O. Goodwin, "Verdi and Dog Valley," 12-13.
- <sup>64</sup> Kelly Dixon, "Heritage Resource Inventory," 24. The horse chutes were supplanted by the Dolbeer steam donkey, patented in 1882. Foulkes continued to use animal power because it was cheaper.
- <sup>65</sup> For more information on Foulkes, see Victor O. Goodwin, "Verdi and Dog Valley," 33-38.
- <sup>66</sup> Sharon Waechter, Julia G. Castello, Susan Lindstrom, and William Bloomer, "Final Report on the Assessment of Damages from the Cottonwood, Crystal, and Hirschdale Fires at 10 Sites on the Tahoe and Toiyabe National Forests," Cultural Resources Report 05-17-1129, Nevada City, CA: Tahoe National Forest, 1995 details this (III-27).
- <sup>67</sup> *Daily Nevada State Journal* (Reno), August 9, 1874.

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- <sup>68</sup> Susan Lindstrom, "Archaeological Evaluation and Data Recovery at Ca-NEV-572-H: A Chinese Cabin Site at Juniper Flat, Cambridge Estates Subdivision, Truckee, California," Report for CRB Development, Fair Oaks, California, 1993, p. 10.
- <sup>69</sup> Kelly Dixon, "Heritage Resource Inventory," 142.
- <sup>70</sup> Victor O. Goodwin, "Verdi and Dog Valley," 22.
- <sup>71</sup> Kelly Dixon, "Heritage Resource," 18.
- <sup>72</sup> Victor O. Goodwin, "Verdi and Dog Valley," 24-25.
- <sup>73</sup> Victor O. Goodwin, "Verdi and Dog Valley," 39-41 details this important company and Kelly Dixon, "Heritage Resource Inventory," 8.
- <sup>74</sup> *Ibid.* Lonkey and Smith employed 8 men.
- <sup>75</sup> *Ibid.* and N. A. Hummel, *op.cit.*, 15.
- <sup>76</sup> Victor O. Goodwin, "Verdi and Dog Valley," 48.
- <sup>77</sup> Victor O. Goodwin, "Verdi and Dog Valley," 28-29.
- <sup>78</sup> N.A. Hummel, General History and Resources of Washoe County, Nevada [Verdi, NV: Sagebrush Press, 1969?], 16.
- <sup>79</sup> Constance Knowles, "A History of Lumbering," 26.
- <sup>80</sup> Dick Wilson, Sawdust Trails in the Truckee Basin: A History of Lumbering Operations 1856-1936 (Nevada City, CA: Nevada County Historical Society, 1992), 48.
- <sup>81</sup> This story is detailed in Victor O. Goodwin, "Verdi and Dog Valley," 12. In 1908 the Verdi Coal and Oil Development Company tried to work these same coal mines.
- <sup>82</sup> Truckee Republican, May 23, 1872 and June 1, 1872; Territorial Enterprise, May 25, 1872; Constance Knowles, "A History of Lumbering," 21-23.
- <sup>83</sup> Constance Knowles, "A History of Lumbering," 26.
- <sup>84</sup> Sierra Sun (Truckee), September 12-18, 2002.
- <sup>85</sup> The census manuscript for 1890 was destroyed in a fire.
- <sup>86</sup> U.S. Census Manuscript, 1880 Nevada, Ormsby County, Carson City.
- <sup>87</sup> United States census manuscript, Ninth Census (1870), State of Nevada, Washoe County, Crystal Peak, Truckee Meadows, and Truckee River Valley. Hereafter cited Census Manuscript, 1870. Available on microfilm, UNLV Lied Library.
- <sup>88</sup> State of Nevada, 1875 Census, Washoe County, Verdi. No Chinese were listed in nearby locations with the exception of Reno. Available on microfilm, UNLV Lied Library.
- <sup>89</sup> Daily Nevada State Journal (Reno), August 9, 1874. Hereafter abbreviated *DNSJ*.
- <sup>90</sup> Census manuscript, Tenth Census (1880), Nevada, Washoe County, Verdi and vicinity, Truckee River Valley. Available on microfilm, UNLV Lied Library.
- <sup>91</sup> Daily Nevada State Journal, August 9, 1874. The sawmill reportedly sawed thousands of feet of lumber daily.
- <sup>92</sup> Reno Evening Gazette, October 21, 1890.
- <sup>93</sup> National Archives and Records Administration, Census Manuscript, 1870 California, Nevada County, on microfilm; for more details on Truckee's Chinese, see Michael Goldstein, "Truckee's Chinese Community."
- <sup>94</sup> Michael Goldstein, "Truckee's Chinese Community," 17-18.
- <sup>95</sup> Thomas H. Thompson and Albert A. West, History of Nevada County, California 1880 (Berkeley: Howell-North Books, 1970 republication), 168.
- <sup>96</sup> "Nevada County Assessor's Records, 1868, 1870," <http://webpages.cwia.com/~mficklin/tax.recs.html>. Quang Sing Chang, Hin Chin, Hi Chung, Ah Coon (Donner Lake), Gin Wo Hang, Ye Hang, Ah Him, Loon Hop, Hung Qwan, Ah How, Ah Pawn, Quang Kee, Fong Lee, Hong Lee, Yee Sing, Tang Lee, Hing Toy, Ah Lock, Ah Moy, Loon Sing, Hong Quam, Hong Sing, Ye Sung, Lee Tang, One Wau, Quong Wo, Wo Hop & Kee, Wright & Kee, Billy Yang (Donner Lake), Fun Ye, Hang Ye, Sung Ye, Hi Young, Lee Yu, Hi Yung, Yu Fun, Jim Yung, and Ah Howe are the names listed. Some may be a variation of the same person's name or a reversal of first and last names.
- <sup>97</sup> "Selected Nevada County Property Records/Truckee, 1864-1920," <http://webpages.cwia.com/~mficklin/proprecs.html>. The names have been compared with the U.S. census manuscripts for the 9<sup>th</sup> (1870) and 10<sup>th</sup> (1880) census manuscripts for California, Nevada County, Truckee and nearby areas on microfilm.

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<sup>98</sup> These agents often guaranteed the work of the men sent to fill the job; if the workers were not satisfactory, the agents would send replacements.

<sup>99</sup> National Archives and Records Administration, Census Manuscript, 1880, California, Truckee and Vicinity (including Boca). Michael Goldstein gives details on the 1870 census manuscript but not as much for the 1880 census, so some of the details are enumerated here.

<sup>100</sup> Case 927 *Ah Sing v. Edward D. Sweeney*, December 2, 1870, is in the Ormsby County District Court Records at the Nevada State Archives and Library.

<sup>101</sup> Dick Wilson, *Sawdust Trails*, 75.

<sup>102</sup> The company is misidentified as Quong Wing and Company, but by the nature of their business, must have been Quong Hing and Company. *Ah Chuck v. Quong Wing*, Case 1082, December 31, 1870, Ormsby District Court. Nevada State Archives and Library, Carson City. Quong Hing had dealings with Henry Yerington and John W. Haynie as well. See Yerington and Company Papers, NC 738, Journal, University of Nevada, Reno, Special Collections.

<sup>103</sup> Case 147 is in the Ormsby County District Court Records at the Nevada State Archives and Library.

<sup>104</sup> *Ah Loy v. Alexander Johnson*, Case 559, November 24, 1874, Ormsby County District Court Records at the Nevada State Archives and Library.

<sup>105</sup> The name of the firm was spelled Kong Hing, but actually was Quong Hing & Company. *Sam Kee v. Hugh Porter*, Case 831, July 7, 1875, Ormsby District Court. Nevada State Archives and Library, Carson City. Non Chong Yee, aka Ah Sam and Sam Gibson, was a labor contractor and a leader of Carson City's Chinatown. Although he, his wife, and children never appear in the census manuscripts in Nevada, he is listed on the tax rolls in between 1870 and 1885 for Carson City. For more information about Non Chong Yee, see the story of his oldest daughter Ah Cum in Sue Fawn Chung, "Ah Cum Kee and Loy Lee Ford: Between Two Worlds," in Kriste Lindenmeyer, ed., *Ordinary Women, Extraordinary Lives: Women in American History* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 2000), 179-195.

<sup>106</sup> Case 1824, *Sierra Wood v. Wah Hi*, February 19, 1881, Ormsby District Court. Nevada State Archives and Library, Carson City. The case was very convoluted. Yerington and Company also hired Hi Wah for services and goods. See Yerington and Company Papers, NC 738, University of Nevada, Reno, Special Collections Library, Day Book entry for 1873.

<sup>107</sup> Warf, "Regional Transformation," 338.

<sup>108</sup> Barney Warf, "Regional Transformation, Everyday Life, and Pacific Northwest Lumber Production," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 78:2 (June 1988), 335.

<sup>109</sup> R. Hidy, F. Hill, and A. Nevins, *Timber and Men: The Weyerhaeuser Story* (New York: Macmillan, 1963), 150.

<sup>110</sup> Kelly Dixon, "Heritage Resource Inventory," 189.

<sup>111</sup> This stove-heater can be seen at the Sparks Museum, Sparks, Nevada.

<sup>112</sup> This is the subject of Aaron Gallegos's forthcoming master's thesis at UNLV in anthropology.

<sup>113</sup> These laws include the 1875 Page Law that essentially made it very difficult for Chinese women to immigrate, the first national racist 1882 prohibition of Chinese laborers, the 1892 expansion of the meaning of laborers to include physicians and religious leaders, the 1893 requirement for certificates of identity and residence, and the 1924 immigration act that essentially limited Chinese immigration to 105 per year. See Lucy E. Salyer, *Laws Harsh as Tigers: Chinese Immigrants and the Shaping of Modern Immigration Law* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995) and Charles J. McClain, *In Search of Equality: the Chinese Struggle against Discrimination in Nineteenth Century America* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994) are two of the many works on this subject.

<sup>114</sup> *Eastern Slope* (Washoe City), June 3, 1867. I am indebted to Donald L. Drake and Robert M. Trespel for their compilation of newspaper articles on the Chinese in Nevada for this period.

<sup>115</sup> *GoldHill Daily News*, June 3, 1867.

<sup>116</sup> *Territorial Enterprise*, May 6, 1868 and *Carson Morning Appeal*, May 5, 1868.

<sup>117</sup> *Truckee Republican*, October 2, 1869 and Loren Chan, "The Chinese in Nevada," 107.

<sup>118</sup> *Nevada State Journal*, February 5, 1875.

<sup>119</sup> *Nevada State Journal*, June 20, 1876. See also, Marilou West Ficklin, *Showdon at Truckee* (Reno, NV: Western Book/Journal Press, 1997), Chapter 8.

<sup>120</sup> *Reno Evening Gazette*, July 21, 1876.

<sup>121</sup> Sing C. Chew, *Logs for Capital: The Timber Industry and Capitalist Enterprise in the Nineteenth Century* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1992). Chew focuses upon the Canadian trade in lumber.

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<sup>122</sup> *Truckee Republican*, June 30, 1875 and June 2, 1875.

<sup>123</sup> For details, see Michael Goldstein, "Truckee's Chinese Community," Chapter 5 and Kenneth Low, "The Anti-Chinese Movement in Truckee, 1878-1886," Asian American Studies paper for ASA 121, Vertical File F870C5L68, University of California, Berkeley, Ethnic Studies Library. See also, Guy H. Coates, "The Trout Creek Outrage," <http://truckeehistory.tripod.com/history6.htm> for the Truckee-Donner Historical Society, Inc. and Marilou West Ficklin, *Showdon at Truckee* for some colorful details.

<sup>124</sup> J. F. Moody (hotel, lumber), Schaffer (lumber), Cruthers (furniture), Richardson (lumber, doors), Irwin (livery and feed stables), D. J. Crowley (newspaper, lawyer), Greely (variety store, post office), J. Marzen (meatmkt), J. Gray (lawyer), Burckhalter (banker, grocery, hardware, cigar, stagelines, fire insurance), Brickwell (lumber), and Keiser (judge) were the merchants. The group wanted Chinatown rebuilt across the river near Indian Camp. See Kenneth Low, "The Anti-Chinese Movement in Truckee."

<sup>125</sup> Nona M. McGlashan, *Give Me A Mountain Meadow: The Life of Charles Fayette McGlashan (1847-1931): Imaginative Lawyer-Editor of the High Sierra, Who Saved the Donner Story from Oblivion and Launched Winter Sports in the West* (Fresno: Valley Publishers, 1977) details her father's life. See also Michael Goldstein, "Truckee's Chinese Community," Chapter 5.

<sup>126</sup> Michael Goldstein, "Truckee's Chinese Community," 48.

<sup>127</sup> Michael Goldstein, "Truckee's Chinese Community," 49; *Sacramento Record Union*, January 2, 7, 15, 18, 1886

<sup>128</sup> Michael Goldstein, "Truckee's Chinese Community," Chapter 5 and Kenneth Low, "The Anti-Chinese Movement in Truckee."

<sup>129</sup> *Sacramento Record Union*, February 2 and 12, 1886.

<sup>130</sup> *Sacramento Record Union*, June 16, 1886.

<sup>131</sup> Sue Fawn Chung, "Ah Cum Kee and Loy Lee Ford: Between Two Worlds," in Kriste Lindenmeyer, ed., *Ordinary Women, Extraordinary Lives: Women in American History* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 2000), 179-195 details the story.

<sup>132</sup> This information is from a current study by the author on Chinese certificates of residence.

<sup>133</sup> <http://www.sierraloggingmuseum.org/History/history.htm>.

<sup>134</sup> William G. Robbins, *Lumberjacks and Legislators: Political Economy of the United States Lumber Industry, 1890-1941* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 1982), 24.

<sup>135</sup> United States Department of State, *Commercial Relations of the United States with Foreign Countries During the Years 1896 and 1897* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1898), vol. 1, 1036.

<sup>136</sup> Charlotte Todes, *Labor and Lumber* (New York: Arno Press Reprint, 1975 of 1931 ed.), 15.

<sup>137</sup> Shehong Chen, *Being Chinese, Becoming Chinese American* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2002).

<sup>138</sup> On Japanese lumbermen, see Gail Dubrow with Donna Graves, *Sento at Sixth and Main* (Seattle, WA: Seattle Arts Commission and University of Washington Press, 2002).